

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 02367 021013Z  
ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
IO-13 ACDA-12 OMB-01 /092 W  
-----044072 030552Z /13

R 020908Z AUG 78  
FM USLO PEKING  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1555  
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING2367

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CH PINT MPOL

SUBJ: RELEASE OF 1944 POLITICAL WORK REPORT: LESSONS FOR TODAY'S PLA

REF: (A) PEKING 2350; (B) PEKING 2349

1. SUMMARY: RELEASED IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FIFTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PLA ON AUGUST 1, THE 1944 POLITICAL WORK REPORT DISCUSSED PROBLEMS THAT ARE RELEVANT TO TODAY'S ARMY AS IT STRUGGLES WITH EFFORTS TO MODERNIZE. THE DOCUMENT ARGUED FOR MORE EFFECTIVE POLITICAL CONTROL OVER THE ARMY, INCREASED DISCIPLINE IN THE ARMY, AND UPHOLDING THE SPIRIT OF "SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS" IN ANALYZING MILITARY PROBLEMS. THE REPORT ALSO STRONGLY CONDEMNED "WARLORDISM", "MOUNTAIN-TOPISM," "SECTARIANISM" AND OTHER ASSORTED BUREAUCRATIC EVILS. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 02367 021013Z

2. THE AUGUST ISSUE OF RED FLAG CARRIED A 1944 REAR ARMY CORPS (LIU SHOU PING TUAN) PLITICAL WORK REPORT MADE A MEETING OF HIGHER LEVEL CADRES OF THE NORTHWEST BUREAU OF THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE REPORT WAS ALSO CARRIED IN ALL THREE OF THE PRC'S NATIONAL LEVEL NEWSPAPERS. THE ACCOMPANYIKG RED FLAG EDITOR'S NOTE AND AN AUGUST 1 LIBERATION ARMY DAILY EDITORIAL STATED THAT THE DOCUMENT WAS

WRITTEN BY MAO AND CHOU AND IS TO BE THOROUGHLY STUDIED AS PART OF THE  
OVERALL EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN POLITICAL WORK IN THE PLA AND THE CONTINUING CAMPAIGN AGAINST LIN PIAO AND THE GANG OF FOUR.

3. THE LIBERATION ARMY DAILY EDITORIAL STATED THAT THE DOCUMENT HAS IMPORTANT MESSAGES FOR TODAY'S PLA AND IMPLIED THAT SOME PLA UNITS ARE LAGGING BEHIND IN IMPLEMENTING THE DIRECTIVES OF THE MAY/JUNE ALL-ARMY POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCE. THE CONFERENCE PRESENTED A NEW SET OF INSTRUCTIONS (AS YET UNDISCLOSED) ON INCREASING POLITICAL CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY AND STRENGTHENING INTERNAL MILITARY DISCIPLINE. RELEASE OF THE 1944 REPORT UNDERScoreD THE THEMES OF THE RECENT CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY TENG'S CONTENTION THAT EVERYONE SHOULD "SEEK TRUTH FROM FACTS" AND AVOID "DOGMATISM" AND "SECTARIANISM". IN FACT, THE LIBERATION ARMY DAILY EDITORIAL SAID THAT "SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS" WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM THE REPORT.

4. HOWEVER, THE REPORT HAS A MUCH MORE STRIDENT MESSAGE THAN WAS SEEN IN THE DOCUMENTS AND SPEECHES RELEASED DURING THE MAY/JUNE CONFERENCE. SUMMING UP THE EXPERIENCE OF THE 1942-44 RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN WITHIN THE ARMY AND THE PARTY, THE REPORT SAID THAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN COMBATING BUREAUCRATIC EVILS BUT MANY PROBLEMS REMAIN. SPECIFICALLY, THE AUTHORS OF THE REPORT ATTACKED "WARLORDISM", "DOCTRINARISM", "MOUNTAINTOPISM",  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 02367 021013Z

"FORMALISM", AND OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN INTERNAL DISCIPLINE AND CIVILIAN CONTROL OVER THE MILITARY. WHILE SUCH PROBLEMS WERE PARTICULARLY ACUTE IN THE NUMEROUS GUERRILLA AND ARMY UNITS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT CHINA BEFORE 1949, RELEASE OF THE DOCUMENT SUGGESTS THAT MODERN-DAY VARIANTS OF THESE PROBLEMS MAY STILL BE CAUSING CONCERN AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THE LEADERSHIP.

5. CRITICISM OF "WARLORDISM" AND "MOUNTAINTOPISM" -- CODEWORDS FOR MILITARY LEADERS WHO CARVE OUT INDEPENDENT FIEFDOMS -- INDICATES THAT THE PRC LEADERSHIP MAY HAVE REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT THE REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS AND OTHER MILITARY LEADERS HAVE BECOME TOO POWERFUL AND POLITICAL CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE MUST BE STRENGTHENED. COMBINED WITH THE EMPHASIS ON CRITICIZING THE "PERNICKY INFLUENCE" OF LIN PIAO AS WELL AS THE GANG OF FOUR, PRC LEADERS -- AND ESPECIALLY TENG HSIAO-PING IN OUR JUDGMENT -- APPEAR TO BE PUSHING FOR THE FULL IMPLIMENTATION OF THE RECENT MILITARY GUIDELINES AND ARE POSSIBLY CONTEMPLATING REORGANIZATION AND TRANSFER OF OFFICES AT LEAST IN SOME MILITARY REGIONS. HUA AND TENG BOTH HAVE POLITICAL

TIES TO MANY MILITARY LEADERS IN THE PROVINCES AND  
ANY EFFORTS TO TRANSFER MILITARY LEADERS WOULD UN-  
DOUBTEDLY EFFECT EXISTING POLITICA RELATIONSHIPS  
WITHIN THE POLIYBUTO.

WOODCOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** REPORTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 02 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978PEKING02367  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780317-0769  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** PEKING  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197808107/aaaadlrq.tel  
**Line Count:** 121  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** e3028b58-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 78 PEKING 2350, 78 PEKING 2349  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 11 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1560722  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RELEASE OF 1944 POLITICAL WORK REPORT: LESSONS FOR TODAY'S PLA  
**TAGS:** PINT, MPOL, CH  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/e3028b58-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014